LATINA AMERICAN REPORT

VOL. IV

No. 7

### REPORT ON GUATEMALA:

endowed by nature and embellished by mankind over many centuries.

AND AND PLOTE A culture as modern as tomorrow and as old as ancient Mayan civilization.

NOUSTRY A nation beginning to look upon itself as the industrial center of Central America.

ACRICULTURE Rich volcanic soils make Guatemala a cornucopia of bananas, sugarcane and coffee.

REPORT ON GUATEMALA



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### SOME UNPLEASANT FACTS OF LIFE

UNPLEASANT as the prospect is, we may as well get used to the idea that we are going to have to live with Fidel Castro, and all he stands for in Cuba, for an indefinite time. That fact was sealed with the invasion fiasco that took place at the Bay of Pigs.

What are the alternatives?

Up to then, there existed a strong possibility of Castro's overthrow. Cubans worked from within to soften up the regime and prepare the way for other Cubans to invade. Manolo Ray's underground was strong and active. Properly supplied, in time it might have become a real threat to Castro. Cubans well trained in guerilla warfare could have landed repeatedly to infiltrate the mountains in small parties. A policy of continuous harassment may have brought the Castro regime to its knees.

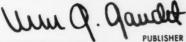
The naive idea of the all-or-nothing adventure at the Bay of Pigs crumbled these hopes, at least for the foreseeable future. The underground was so decimated by mass arrests made by Castro on the excuse given him by the invasion, that it may never again constitute a serious threat. The fighting spirit of anti-communist Cubans in and out of Cuba was dampened by disillusionment. World opinion neutralized the possibility of continued large-scale U. S. aid, either to underground or invasion groups. The invasion so strengthened Castro's totalitarian hand that probably nothing short of direct U. S. military intervention could now shake loose his grip on the island and its people.

At the time of the invasion, the United States might have gotten away with direct military support of the rebels, at least from the air. We should likely not have been more castigated then we were, and the job would have been over and done with. We lost that advantage. To attempt it again, in the absence of direct provocation by Castro, would be too damning. Only in the remote event that Russia would establish a military base on the island, or that Castro would make an overt assault on a neighboring republic, would we have justification for direct intervention.

On the other hand, hopes of effective OAS action for economic and diplomatic isolation of Cuba are pretty slim. Latin American governments, for reasons of their own, have shown little stomach for such a move.

So, what course of action is left to us?

The most practical alternative is to impose on Castro's Cuba such isolation as we can, while launching a long-range attack on the seedbeds of communism elsewhere in Latin America. By massive assault on social injustice and economic stagnation, starve the Castro idea for want of fertile soil in which to put down roots. When Western Democracy has proven by deeds that it can deliver more to the masses of Latin Americans than communism can, then the Castro idea will lose its potency. Freedom-loving Cubans, with such help as we can give them, will in time fight their way back into the society of free men.



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THIS MONTH'S COVER: Colorful mosaic mural decorating the facade of a modern government building in Guatemala City, (Color photo by Dennis J. Cipnic.)











# LATIN AMERICAN REPORT

Published monthly to record and interpret the changing history of our hemisphere.

VOL. IV
PUBLICATION DATE:

NO. 7 AUGUST 1961

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REPORT ON GUATEMALA

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Layout:

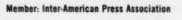
Norman Thomas

Circulation:

Sidney Toca

FOREIGN NEWS: Field representatives stationed in Mexico City, Mexico; Guatemala City, Guatemala; San Salvador, El Salvador, Tegucigalpa, Honduras; Managua, Nicaragua; San Jose', Costa Rica; Panama City, Panama; Bogota', Colombia; Quito, Equador; Lima, Peru; La Paz, Bolivia; Santiago, Chile; Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; Brasilia, Brazil; Caracas, Venezuela.

LATIN AMERICAN REPORT is published monthly by Latin American Reports, Inc., International Trade Marx, New Orleans 16, La. Single copy price: 50c; Subscription: \$5.00 per year in the United States; foreign rates: \$6.00 (boat mail). Officers: President, William G. Gaudet; Vice President, Sidney M. Toca; Secretary, R. L. Emery III; Treasurer, Macrino Trelles. Directors: Dr. Alton Ochsner, Sidney M. Toca, William G. Gaudet, Pauline Lucas Gaudet, Lee Emery, Jr., R. L. Emery III, Macrino Trelles, Warren A. Forstall. Second Class Mail Privilege authorized at New Orleans, Louisians.



PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS: 16-17, Dennis J. Cipnic, Ohio Oil Company, Norman Thomas; 3-19, all other photographs in REPORT ON GUATEMALA section, Dennis J. Cipnic.





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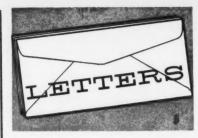
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Informative

Dear Sir:

. . . I wish to say that I have found Latin American Report to be a wellwritten and highly informative magazine. It has done much to stimulate my interest in every one of the countries of Latin America.

> Kathryn Swank Crawfordsville, Indiana

Credit for the article, NO MORE PESOS FOR CHILE, Latin American Report, February 1960, was in-advertently omitted. This omission having been called to the attention of Latin American Report, we hasten to give credit where credit is due. Author of the article in question was Eric N. Baklanoff, assistant professor of economics, Louisiana State University.



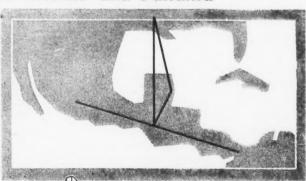
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Report on

Guatemala



## Guatemala

In the state of Chiapas, Mexico, the Pan American Highway races south across soft plains, until suddenly it hits a fortress wall of mountains which abruptly squeeze it through knife-cut valleys, the road clinging precariously to the barest semblance of a ledge, poised between a foaming white torrent called the Salagua River and 12,000-foot-high cliffs which have the shattering habit of letting go a thousand tons of rock at a time into the chasm below. This is Guatemala. It's a rugged place to raise a nation.

Atop a cliff a giant, grinding bull-dozer pushes half a mountain at a time toward the brink, shoves it over the side, then carefully skids back to safety. Its purpose is to clear away the debris of rockslides and open the highway. Its operator is a skilled technician earning over \$100 per week.

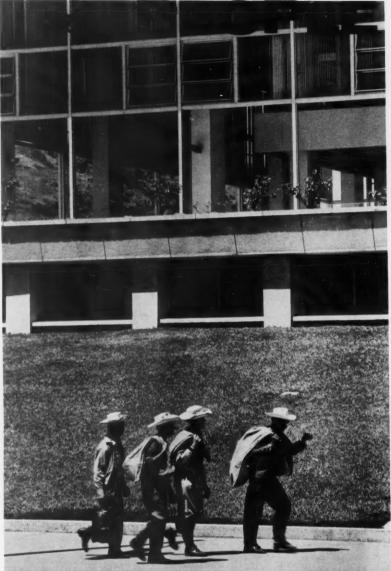
Watching this operation, without the least idea of what it, or the bull-dozer, means, is a lithe dark Indian. He lives in a cave on the mountain-side and must climb nearly a mile to reach his almost vertical corn patch. Its harvest will earn him his total yearly income of ten dollars.

Both men are Guatemalans. They represent in two people, an entire nation.

Guatemala was first settled by the Mayans and their cousin tribes, among them the Quiche and Cakchiquel. They built great cities, invented a system of written communication, conceived the mathematical theorem which made the decimal system possible, and studied the heavens. They also sacrificed human beings to their gods.

Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez' lieutenants, came through the passes from Mexico with 300 men in 1524, defeated the Indians with both sword and smallpox, which accompanied his troops and spread ahead of them like wildfire. The Spaniards then built cities, wrote scholarly works on the conquest, used the concept of zero to help total up the amount of gold they took out of Mayan temples and mines, and studied the ecclesiastical heavens. They also sacrificed human beings, in the name of the King of Spain.

Despite the similarities of conquerer and conquered the Guatemalan Indians and Spaniards never quite got together; there was no intermingling of the races, no centuries of gradual mass assimilathe LAND and



Rural Indians from the mountains pass by Guatemala City's modern city hall.

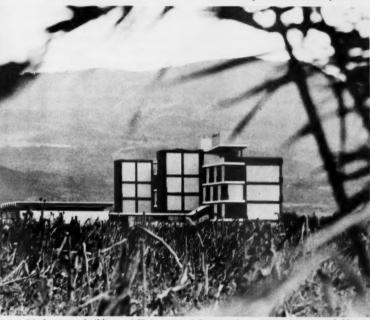
Famous scale-model relief of Guatemala, made without modern data, is very accurate.







A mirimba, the national instrument. Community wash-universal feature.



Modern new buildings of University of Guatemala, going up in a corn field. Masses of motorcycles everywhere. Rush traffic on Sixth Ave. (main street).







Family from the hills spends evening watching sidewalk TV. An American invites poor children for weekly outing.



Indians bring prized hand-woven goods for sale in city.



tion. What little took place went against the grain, and was discouraged. Over 53 per cent of the population is still of pure Indian blood.

To this day the Guatemalan usually wears distinctive tribal or area dress, and it may be a costume limited to the surviving residents of one mountain valley. He is an anachromism in Guatemala City, Antigua, or Quezaltenango. It's just the opposite for the urban Guatemalan, a category which includes that 50 per cent of Guatemala's farm owners who do not live on their land, or their field hands, captive residents of "company towns" (see Agriculture article on later page).

In many ways the urban Guatemalan, whether of Indian or Spanish descent, is Guatemala's present-day conqueror. He has built the highways, turned his country into Central America's most promising industrial nation, and become a member of a corps of fine doctors, writers, teachers, lawyers and progressive agriculturists.

The rural dweller, however, is still a Mayan at heart. He insists on throwing insence into the burning altar in front of the Catholic church in Chichicastenango, just in case. And he has his own private gods. He may speak a little English, and probably can get along quite well in Spanish, the lan-

guage of the city. But rattle him a little and the torrent of words will come out pure Quiche. For the most part, all he wants is to be left alone to pursue his age-old way of life.

Guatemala City life is fast. Businessmen seem to be going to important appointments. The mountain man is slow. Plodding hour after hour along dusty paths to a village market with his wares trussed upon his back, he could hardly be in a hurry, even if he wanted to. The urban Guatemalan carries a briefcase. In it, perhaps, are a few hours work to close a lease on one of the city's 100,000-dollar office buildings. The rural Guatemalan carries on his back a dozen clay pots which took his entire family a week or more to produce. They may fetch six dollars at the market if this is a good day.

These pure-blooded, independent, not quite Christian, uneducated, and virtually pauperous mountain Indians make up the majority of Guatemala's population. And they are extremely loathe when it comes to accepting aid from "city people".

"It took decades to get them to send their children to school", one Guatemalan reported. "And even at that, they take them back up into the mountains after only a few years. It still isn't safe in many places for Guatemalan government officials, though the same people are extremely friendly to tourists who are complete foreigners. They just don't want what they consider the remnants of the Spanish colonial empire butting into their business".

A good part of the empire was based in Guatemala for 297 years. The Captaincy General of Guatemala included what is now all of Central America, from southern Mexico to the Colombian border. The colonial government used the Indians badly for everything from slave labor gold mining to outright bondage, wherein the descendants of the Mayans were sent into chains and reduced, after three centuries, to peonage. They had no land, no rights, no ambition, and very little hope.

But they had received certain compensations from the Spaniards. Monotheism was one. The Catholic religion went over big in Guatemala. Second was a common language, and with it books, schools and better communication.

Farming had been very primitive, and crops few, before the conquest. The Spanish brought everything they knew about agriculture, and all their crops, to the new world, and taught their Indian serfs to use the knowledge. The only trouble was, they wouldn't let the serfs use it for themselves. Everything was done for the landowner, the boss.

The Spanish also brought urbanity. They re-made what had been an Indian nation of valley or mountainside states into tiny feudalistic baronys. Local villages served as church site, area governmental headquarters, and regional marketplace. The villages grew, and many Indians thus turned into urban dwellers despite themselves. True, a Guatemalan village does not compare in size with even a middling U. S. town, but to Indians used to communities only as large as a few clustered huts, the Spanish establishment of urban areas was cataclysmic.

The villages became small centers of power, and naturally enough, power was vested in the triumvirate which had brought about the establishment of urban areas in the first place: the church, local government officials, and the landowners. In 1821 all three got fed up with sending most of the fruits of their labors to Spain, and declared Central America's independence. By 1838 the Captaincy General members were also fed up with each other, and split into the Central American nations more or less as we know them today. Guatemala's first President came into office during this breakup. His name was Rafael Carrera.

A city Indian, Carrera ruled dicta-



President Ydígoras marches with his Cabinet Ministers enroute to address Congress.

Well dressed, orderly crowd protests President's income tax proposal (since defeated).





President Ydígoras addresses opening session of Congress.



Families enjoy free lunches while watching Congressional session from the galleries.

### GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

T HE Guatemalan government is presided over by the President, currently Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. His function is to defend both the constitution and the country, present the budget, implement court decisions, appoint diplomatic officials, and see to the general progress of agriculture, industry, education and public utilities. He is also Commander in Chief of the army.

The Legislature is a unicameral body elected every four years. As with the President, the electorate consists of all males over age 18, and all women over 18 who can read and write. The representatives are called Deputies of the Legislature, and represent districts of 25,000 population. They inaugurate the President, appoint the president and magistrates of the Supreme Court, and the Attorney General, enact taxes, initiate and pass legislation by two-thirds vote, and approve treaties.

The government gets a good deal of its income from import customs duties and a coffee export tax, a situation which has contributed greatly to continuing political unrest. When the export prices, first of coffee, then of cotton, began to fall so did the government's revenues. In no time at all there was a budgetary deficit, followed by a downturn in the country's buying power. The deficit has continued to grow in direct proportion to the international coffee market's instability. By 1959, the deficit had reached \$10 million per year, almost 10 per cent of the entire national budget.

President Ydigoras clamped down on government spending, and in 1960 reduced the deficit by 50 per cent. But such stopgap measures were not a permanent solution. Some way had to be found to put government revenues on a more stable basis. Ydigoras chose income taxes.

Guatemala has never had an income tax. In fact, almost all its tax revenue structures, drawn up decades ago, favor those who have money or land. Real estate taxes, for example, are ridiculously low, even though many Guatemalans agree they should be put on an ascending scale, which would neither overburden the small landowner, nor favor the big ones. A bill along these lines is now before Congress, and is being bitterly fought by what the gallery calls "the finca lobby."

When Ydigoras proposed an income tax, to be levied on those who made over \$5,000 in a calendar year, the political lid blew off. Guatemala's growing urban middle classes, especially shopowners, doctors, lawyers, and others who hover right around the \$5,000 income figure, protested that they would be the ones to suffer most. After generations of struggle to pull themselves up out of rural poverty, then claimed that the government was pushing them right back down again. Processions of businesssuited men, carrying briefcases, marched through the streets bearing signs that demanded "no more taxes." It was inferred that through some sort of government connivance the really big rich would get off without paying their fair share.

Nevertheless, the President continues to push for an income tax bill in Congress. And there is reliable information to indicate that Guatemala's import and export tax structures are also about to undergo further changes which will better stabilize them in relation to consumer needs and ability to pay.



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torially. He was an ignorant religious fanatic, but he had hypnotic control over the masses. He also believed that Guatemala was not only destined to be independent, but to run the affairs of the rest of Central America.

For ten years he machinated against governments in the small nation-states surrounding his own, scheming to put landowner respecters like himself into power.

Though he didn't always succeed elsewhere, his goals were easily won at home; the landowning classes, one of the groups which had changed Guatemala, ruled the country through their support of Carrera until his death in 1865.

The next dictator President of note

was Justo Rufino Barrios, 1871 – 1885. He played up the second unit of the triumvirate, the local government officials, continued to support the landowners, and didn't think much of the mountain Indians. But he did bring a good deal of material gain to Guatemala, including roads, public education, agricultural progress, and close contact with the United States.

Unfortunately, Barrios, like Carrera, also tried interferring in the business of the other Central American states, going so far as to declare the re-formation of the Union of Central America. He then set off to accomplish the union by force of arms. He got as far as next door El Salvador, where he was killed in battle.

Strong man number three came into office in 1931, after an extended period of minor dictators. He was Jorge Ubico, a city-born creole. Ubico favored the landowners and the generals, who were a military extension of the old barony-village regional police system. But he also had a good word now and then for the Indians, especially the still independent rural Indians, who were coming to be regarded as "picturesque", and, due to their live-and-let-live ways, of little danger to the government. But the urban Indians, those who worked in town and farm, were still little more than slaves.

Ubico brought his country a balanced economy, modern sanitation, public works, modern roads, electric power, and a police system which ruthlessly crushed all political opposition.

In 1945 the most urban Guatemalans, mostly of Indian descent and without political power except in numbers, crushed Ubico. In his stead, they put into office Juan Jose Arevalo. It now appears that Arevalo was a sincere, though somewhat starry-eyed, liberal. Through him, Guatemala's small but active Communist party was able to begin a series of expropriations, labor riots, anti-U. S. demonstrations and organized mass disorders.

Arevalo was followed into office by outright communist Jacobo Arbenz, and he was followed by the Soviet Union. By 1954, it was obvious to the entire world that Guatemala was in desperate danger of falling prey to a well-planned internal communist conspiracy. Obvious, that is, to everyone but the majority of Guatemalans, the mountain Indians. None of these goings on had affected them in the past 500 years, so all they wanted was to be left alone.

They were, but Arbenz wasn't. Guatemalan army officer Carlos Castillo Armas led a revolt, supported by the United States, which overthrew the communists. For the next three years, he attempted to put Guatemala back into the middle of the political and economic road, but was cut short before reaching his goal by an assassin's bullet.

Six months later, in February, 1958, General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes was installed as President. On inauguration day, Guatemala City was filled with Indians from the mountains, brought into town for the great day. They looked uncomfortable and confused, out of place against steel and concrete buildings. And city Guatemalans gawked at them as though they were creatures from another world. In a way they were, but both worlds are Guatemala.

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# Unfolding Before Your Eyes

G UATEMALA is a land of fantastic variety for the traveler. The country's lakes are beautiful, her volcanos among the world's most perfectly formed. Churches are magnificent, and her Indian rites spectacular. Guatemala City is a booming capital of modernity for all Central America.

Guatemala's tropic seaports are lush green bays. In the rain forest of Peten the greatest of all the Maya cities is emerging from 500 years of jungle growth. And high in the mountains Antigua sits, the conquistation capital of Antigua, its great stone buildings now a vast living museum, many of them spectacular ruins.

Access to Guatemala is very easy. TACA airlines flies to Guatemala City from New Orleans. Pan American has schedules from Miami and Houston (via Mexico). Aviateca, Guatemala's own airline, flies from all three U. S. cities mentioned above. Round trip fares are as low as \$99 from New Orleans, \$130 from Houston.

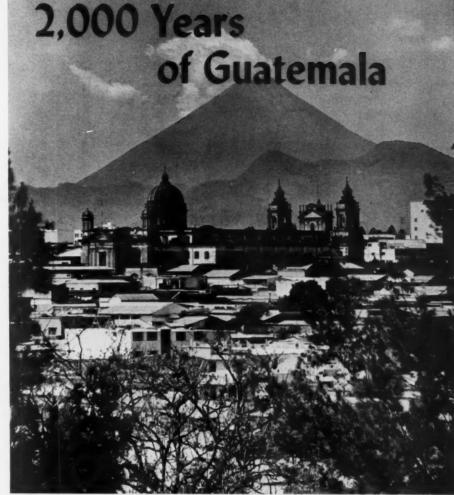
For those with time to spare, Guatemala is also served by a number of U. S. steamship lines, sailing regularly from Gulf ports. Voyages run anywhere from four to seven days. For more information, contact United Fruit Company lines, or any local travel agent.

The usual base of tourist operations is one of a half dozen hotels in Guatemala City. Take your choice; they're all good: the Pan American, Biltmore, Maya Excelsior, Ritz, Plaza, Lima. A double with bath costs anywhere from eight to twelve dollars, U. S.

Guatemalan money is based on the Quetzal. It is exactly equivalant to U. S. currency, so don't worry about conversion difficulties. There are also a good many small *pensiones*, where room and board can cost less than \$35 per week.

The food served in all hotels and most restaurants is well prepared, tastes good, and is always followed by some of the world's best coffee, all you want. There are especially fine steaks and chops; you'll find them served everywhere at very reasonable prices. Cost of a five course meal, including fresh squeezed juice, homemade soup, roast sirloin tips, tossed salad, dessert and beverage: \$2.00, including tip.

Guatemala is a land of varying altitude, from tropics to high mountains. It is pleasant everywhere, just about right for a lightweight suit around



Perfect cone of El Agua towers over National Cathedral.

Oldest structure in Guatemala City, one of first outposts.





Beautiful Lake Atitlan with volcanoes.



Indians burn incense on steps of historic church at Chichicastenango.

Guatemala City, and short sleeves in the lowlands. Guatemala is blessed with a continuous breeze which makes what might be a scorching day anywhere else very comfortable. And Guatemala is one of the most immaculate countries on the face of the earth. It's one of the few places where people save empty cigarette packages until they can find a trash receptacle.

Tourist fever has yet to get past the taxicab drivers of Guatemala. Their fares are as yet unregulated, and there's no such thing as a taxicab meter in the entire country. Only one fare is standard, the \$2 tariff from the airport to downtown hotels. This one is set by the hotel association.

The association, and the tourist bureau, are currently trying to get



Guatemala City's modern city hall.



Postoffice building straddles street in Guate mala.



Castillo de San Felipe, near Puerto Barrios, guarded entrance to harbor where galleons loaded treasure.



A great Mayan temple Tikal in Peten jungle,

may be v

meters installed in cabs. But cab drivers are fighting just as hard to keep them out.

"It would be the end of private enterprise", they grumble.

Meantime, if you should take a cab in Guatemala, don't argue over the fare. Despite no meters, they are lower than stateside rates, and besides, Guatemalan taxi drivers are so independent they'd as soon not take you as a customer if they think you're disagreeable.

Guatemala City is the logical place to start any tour of the country. Among things very much worth seeing: The National Palace and Cathedral, Minerva Park with its giant outdoor relief map of the country, the hilltop chapel of Cerro del Carmen overlooking the entire city, and Aurora Park, the largest in Central America. Aurora has a fine zoo of tropical birds and animals, is near the complex of museums of archaeology, natural history and fine arts.

The city is also center of the nation's marketing activities, and while it is undoubtedly fun to prowl around the country stalls, there's also a good deal to be said for shopping in city stores. Most wearables are guaranteed as to color and size; if anything should prove unsatisfactory, you'll know where to find the firm that sold you the goods.

And while around Guatemala City, keep your eyes open to the changing facade of Central America. Guatemala is leading its neighbor nations toward





Highway through troublesome but beautiful El Tapon Canyon.



Clearing giant slide from Pan American Highway in El Tapon.



in process of excavation at may be visited by tour.



One of picturesque ruins of ancient Antigua, Spanish city destroyed by quake and flood when volcano errupted.

an individualistic modern architecture. There are surprising contrasts in old and new all over the city. Especially worth noting are the City Hall, the baroque central post office, right next to an ultra-modern monolith housing the main-telephone exchange, and the mile-long new residential neighborhood leading out to the airport.

An easy one-day side trip from the city, either by rented car or hired limousine for \$10 to \$12, leads west to Lake Amatitlan, resort center for urbanite Guatemalans. The lake is fed by hot springs, bordered by soft green hills—great for swimming and boating.

Just past the lake there is a turnoff on the highway which leads directly up through a pass between two forestsloped volcanoes to Antigua, twenty miles away. The Spanish Captaincy General of Guatemala was built around this city in the sixteenth century. Its power extended north into what is now the lower third of Mexico, and south into Colombia and Ecuador in South America. For centuries it was the crossroads of North and South America.

The Captaincy General no longer exists, of course, and Antigua, torn asunder by a series of earthquakes almost 200 years ago, isn't even the capital of the present Republic of Guatemala. But its ruins compare favorably with many better known ones scattered around the Mediterranean. There is still an aura of magnificence about these shells of some



Church of first Spanish headquarters in C. A.



Fortress commanding heart of city, last stronghold of Commies in 1954.

35 churches, 7 colleges, 15 hermitages, and 6,000 homes.

A new city has sprung up around the ruins, but the government has declared Antigua a national monument, and is carefully preserving the remnants of the colonial buildings. Some of the more spectacular churches, convents, and larger homes are open to exploration.

But for really fabulous ruins nothing can compare with the Mayan cities which dot Guatemala. The United Fruit Company and others have carefully restored one, Zaculeu, in the town of Huehuetenango. It's a morning's drive up the mountains toward the Mexican border along the Pan American Highway. The restoration cost a great deal of time and

money and provides a rare glimpse into a 600-year-old mystery.

But as spectacular as it is, Zaculeu can't compare with Tikal. This fantastic colossus of skyscraper temples was discovered in the heart of Peten. Guatemala's lowland northern provinces, only a few years ago. Since that time, a team of dedicated archaeologists, led by the University of Pennsylvania's Ed Shook, have been digging away at it, until now we are just able to see what it looked like when the Mayas inhabited it. Tikal is one of the dozen wonders of man's world in the western hemisphere. Don't pass up a chance to see it. Ed likes company.

Guided tours to the Peten leave Guatemala City regularly. It's a three day event, includes airfare, transportation to and from the hotel, meals and lodging in Tikal's Jungle Lodge, and costs \$71 per person, less in groups of two or more. See any travel agent in

Halfway between Guatemala City and Huehuetenango lies Lake Atitlan. It is a gorgeous blue, ringed by native villages and stately volcanoes, and is bordered on the highway by the village of Panajachel. The hotels, especially the Tzanjuyu, front immediately on the water and have private balconies facing quite coves. Rates are \$9 per day and tip, including meals. It's one of the world's few genuinely serene places, and a delight to the eye.

Three hours drive north of Atitlan

is Chichicastenango. The road to Chichi is a genuine 50-mile-long motoring adventure. It twists up and down cliffs, does right angles in the middle of bridges, and is never quite wide enough for comfort. For piece of mind, use a Guatemalan driver if you go to Chichi via car.

Chichicastenango is only one of Guatemala's many Indian villages, but it is the most famous, and fits nicely into a two-day side trip in the Guatemala City-Lake Atitlan-Huehuetenango triangle. Its biggest attractions are its church. Santo Tomas, where incense is burned on an altar on the church steps, and the nave aisles are a bed of candles set into sand boxes colored with decades of wax drippings; and the marketplace, an outdoor department store under white cotton tent roofs.

Eat and stay at the Mayan Inn, a wonderfully picturesque hostelry built in descending terraces along a mountain slope. The food is fine, the service marvelous, the dining rooms small and furnished with genuine colonial antique furniture. Dinner costs \$2.50, including tip. It's one of the best hostelrys in the Americas.

Two other sections of Guatemala are worth mention. The first is the Caribbean seacoast, especially around Puertos Barrios. Tariff is \$7 per day in the hotel, including all meals. And those meals include fish freshly caught off the hotel porch. Barrios is a Maugham-like tropical town of green water and tin-roofed houses, fronting on a bay which leads up into the Rio Dulce and another remnant of colonial days, the pirate fort of Castillo de San Felipe. The fort has been restored by the government tourist department, is reached by boat past jungle-mountains via one of the most beautiful water passages imaginable.

Second is the real highland area. up toward the Mexican border. It's just a short sidetrip from Huehuetenango along the still unfinished Pan American highway. Just don't get nervous when the road starts clinging precariously to cliffsides. It's perfectly safe. There are widened parking places along the road where you can get out, catch your breath, look a mile up to the top of the mountains, half a mile down to a wild blue river below, and suddenly find yourself breathless

One final note: the best place to find a shoeshine boy in Guatemala is in the park near 6th Avenue and 15th Calle in Guatemala City. A mirror finish job costs ten cents. We provide this information because there are not yet more shoeshine boys than tourists in Guatemela. And that's the way it should be. •

### Exploring for Oil in Guatemala

The Ohio Oil Company of Guatemala as operator and its associates

Amerada Petroleum Corporation of Guatemala

Continental Oil Company of Guatemala



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## A STUDY OF

Central loading point on sugar plantation; oxcarts are used in fields to avoid damage to the cane.

Sorting and loading bananas at Puerto Barrios, a United Fruit Company operation.

## AGRICULTURE

Workers harvest lush sugarcane, a crop only recently of major importance in Guatemala.



Truck hauling sugarcane through coffee finca; depicts three leading crops: coffee, bananas, sugar.



GUATEMALA

MOST of Guatemala's agricultural effort has traditionally been directed toward bigger and better production of three principal crops: coffee,

bananas and corn. Sugar, a latecomer, is just beginning to take hold.

The country's crops are grown on only 30.7 per cent of the land; the rest

is occupied by rivers, mountains, villages, jungle, and forest. Most farms, called fincas, are small, less than 15 acres, and are worked by from one to



Sugarcane, a relatively new crop, is shredded in Guatemala mill.



Majority of Indian camposinos farm the vertical mountainsides.



All Guatemala's fine coffee is grown in shade of banana or other trees.

10 men. However, this majority of farmers occupies a minority of the good land. Most of the small farms belong to rural Indians. They are scattered over mountains and through the Peten rain forest. The really fertile parts of Guatemala, the southwestern (Pacific) slopes and the coastal lowlands on the northeast (Caribbean) are worked by a relatively few large landowners. It is estimated that not more than 1,100 owners control over half of Guatemala's tillable soil.

Chief among these is the United Fruit Company. It grows mile upon mile of bananas along the Caribbean and Pacific coasts, and controls what, up until a few years ago, was the main seaport of the country at Puerto Barrios. All told, Unifruitco farms about 26,300 acres of the best land in Guatemala. Its crop was worth \$9.9 million in 1959, ran slightly higher than that in 1960. It formed some 20 per cent of the total volume of Guatemala's export trade, but only 10 per cent of the dollar value.

The big money crop is coffee. It is grown on the lush western mountain slopes between 2,000 and 5,000 feet altitude, generally on large fincas. Eighty-seven per cent of Guatemala's coffee, worth \$76.3 million on 1959's shrinking export coffee market, is grown by fewer than one-half of one

per cent of Guatemala's landowners.

Since coffee has dominated the Guatemalan economy for decades, providing 75 per cent of her total export trade, it has naturally received the most attention from the government. Technical assistance programs, National Agricultural College technical training schedules, joint U. S. - Guatemalan yield studies, have all gone a long way toward improving the coffee crop. But little has helped in improving the world market situation.

Virtually all of Guatemala's coffee is grown slowly, in the shade. It is a premium mild variety. In Africa, and parts of South America, coffee is being grown in the blazing sun. It ripens faster, though not nearly so well, and the coffee plants die out very rapidly. But this is of little concern to the growers. They get more yield per acre, and so are able to sell at lower prices. Brazilian sun-grown coffee sells for 14 to 23 cents per pound, raw. Guatemalan coffee must be marketed for prices between 35 and 40 cents.

Guatemala has suffered from this wildcat coffee growing to an agonizing extent. Her total balance of trade has been unfavorable since 1955. In 1959 it amounted to a deficit of \$15.8 million. However, a strict government fiscal program is slowly improving the picture.

The rest of Guatemala's food crops, mainly corn, rice, beans and a poor variety of wheat, is consumed inside the country. It is in this area that most needs to be done to improve existing conditions.

"One trouble is that these farmers have little sense", one owner said. "They are all growing corn—thousands of acres of it. So we have too much corn, but maybe not enough rice. The price for rice is higher than the price for corn, so *everyone* starts growing rice, and the next thing you know, the market is flooded with rice, but no corn."

Does the government help?

"Yes, in certain ways," this farmer said. "We get technical assistance from the ICA, and from the Instituto Centro Americana de Agricultura. And the Guatemalan government now has a program studying rainfall, making soil analyses, testing water and attacking forestry problems.

We keep rain guages in our fields, and have to report any trees we cut down to the government.

"But help such as farmers get in the United States would be fought down here. Most Guatemalan farmers would deeply resent being told what to plant, or what not to plant, even if it were for the country's good.

"There is admittedly too much

emphasis on quantity, not enough on quality, in our farming (excepting the export crops). Most of us are more worried about getting the price, not the prizes. But the market for quality is here. All we have to do is cultivate it, just like we cultivate the land."

Most of Guatemala's land is cultivated by hand. The farms that can afford it have all the machinery they can get, and some rent what they can't buy. But the backbone of Guatemalan agricultural life is still the rural field hand. He and his kind compose nearly 40 per cent of the nation's population.

Many, especially those who live in the higher mountain areas, own and farm their own little plots of land. The rest have been forced to seek either the city or the vast farm empires spreading through Guatemala's more fertile rural areas which brought with them "company towns," inhabited by, and not able to exist without, the field workers. They are paid 80 cents per day, minimum wage.

Workers living on the farms are a little the better off. They also get a plot of land to farm on their own, or a ration of lard, coffee, corn, beans, rice and salt—diet staples for millions of Guatemalans.

These workers are for the most part illiterate, even though the government has started an intensive compulsory

education program. School is required through the sixth grade. But many children leave to work in the fields and help raise their family's income. The landowners seldom report this to the government; they don't want to have anything more than is absolutely necessary to do with federal interference. Instead they establish schools on the *fincas*, pay for books and teachers, and try to teach the children what they can.

In the past few years several significant changes have taken place in Guatemalan agriculture. The first came with the introduction of cotton as a money crop back in 1954. Since then cotton has risen to third place in the export economy, comprising about 5 per cent of the volume. It is shipped mainly to Japan and Western Europe. But the international cotton market hasn't been doing too well lately, either. So Guatemalan cotton growers are reportedly looking around for greener nastures.

Chief among these is sugar. Starting in 1959, when it became apparent that Castro's Cuba would soon be out of the U. S. sugar market, Guatemala began scrambling into the cane growing business on a big scale. Thousands of acres were planted almost overnight. Planeloads of *finca* owners came to the United States to visit sugar plantations.

went back home with big plans and shiploads of machinery.

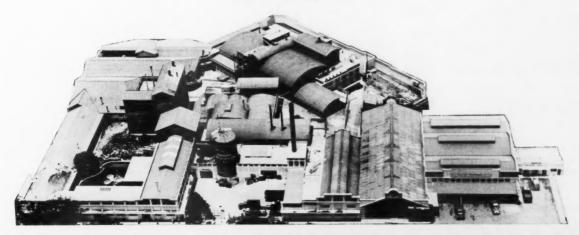
In the past two years, Guatemala's hopes for a bigger and better sugar market have been based on a 6,000-ton temporary U. S. quota, a 2,000-ton European market, and the hope that the United States will soon grant a much sought permanent allotment of 20,000 tons.

On the basis of this hope, the nation's sugar growers have invested millions in cane harvesting machinery, and the government has built mills to take care of grinding for small and middle-sized farms. If the U. S. quota, or even a significant part of it, does come through, sugar will surely displace cotton in third place on export graphs.

At last it has been discovered that there is room for investment and profit in Guatemala's agricultural industry. Example: in 1959 Guatemala imported 258,000 dozens of eggs. The country needs a poultry industry very badly, and there's a ready market for it. There is also a good market for meat, especially prime beef and hogs, not to mention fresh produce. Truck farming is needed to feed both the cities and Guatemala's growing food processing and canning industries. Finally, a fortune awaits the developer of a hardy wheat to grow in Guatemala's almost seasonless, balmy climate. •

# CERVECERIA CENTRO AMERICANA, S.A.

(CENTRAL AMERICAN BREWERY)
GUATEMALA, C.A.



Cerveceria Centro Americana, S.A., of Guatemala has a production of 40 million liters of beers for the year 1961, and plans 60 million liters for 1962. Founded in 1886, Cerveceria Centro Americana this year celebrates its 75th anniversary. It is the oldest brewery in Central America. Cerveceria Centro Americana produces the most popular beers in Guatemala—Gallo, Monte Carlo, Marzen, Moza and Gallito labels.

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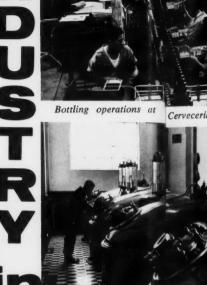
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A Guatemalan worker operates brewery control panel.



Assistant brewmaster at



huge Cerv



Ohio Oil Co. drills test well in Peten.

FOR many years Guatemala's industry, like that of the rest of Central America, was a growth product of its agricultural production. Bananas led to the establishment of Puerto Barrios and the railroad; coffee planting was responsible for the soluble products industry; and the natural thirst of a hardworking people encouraged growth of a large brewery.

But as the urban Guatemalan rode to leadership of his country, pushing the regional isolationism of the rural Indian tribes farther and farther back into history, the idea of industrialization took over. There are now more than 300 industrial plants and agencies of all sizes registered with the Guatemalan Chamber of Industry. Many are either fed by, or serve, the agricultural



Incasa typifies today's modern plants.

community, but virtually all do so with an "urban slant."

Incasa, the soluble coffee manufacturer, is a good example. The idea for an instant coffee plant in Guatemala was conceived in 1955 by 65 local coffee growers. They had money, but lacked knowhow, so they turned for help to Tenco, Inc., king of U. S. soluble coffee manufacturers. Tenco took 25 per cent of Incasa's stock, and in return provided technical advice and the benefits of constant research into what experts call "a very tricky business.'

The present \$2-million Incasa plant evolved from this teamwork. Over 1,000 companies supplied mechanical components, a good many of them European.



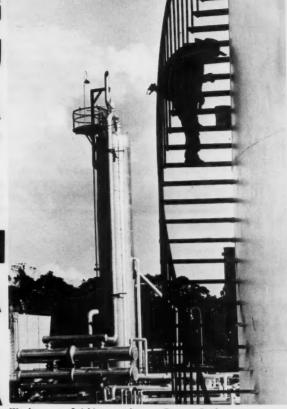
Cerveceria Centro Americano.

huge Cerveceria Centro Ameri-





Coffee taster checks quality at Incasa.



Worker puts finishing touches on Breaux Bridge re-



New Breaux Bridge refinery at Matias.



Huge cement plant goes full blast.



a thousand of everything all at once?" "And there are some things which Stateside manufacturers don't seem to understand," another industrialist said. "We are not just next door. Machine parts have to be safely packaged to reach us in good condition. Time and time again we have received parts from the States which are inadequately packaged. The Europeans do a much better job of this. They even include spares of vital parts in separate wrapping if they think the basic machine might be damaged in transit."

Inquiries are another thing we complain about with some cause," he said. "European manufacturers send exhaustive replies, give fast service, provide a sense of pesonal



General Tire plant, biggest in C. A.

attention and real interest in your problems. The Swiss and Scandinavians are especially good at this. Stateside suppliers send a catalog and technicolor brochure."

Incasa began operating in 1958 with 135 employees in the plant, another 24 in the office. The first personnel to be hired were sent to Tenco plants in the United States for training. Upon their return it was found that everyone else could be trained in Guatemala by these few men. The Guatemalan worker has a high degree of native intelligence, though admittedly little education in technical skills. He is somewhat more industrious than some of his Latin neighbors. At Incasa, Indians only one generation removed from the mountains operate everything from the power plant to complex lines of coffee distillers. They are paid from \$40 per month up, get many Stateside-type fringe benefits.

The plant uses about 3.5 million pounds of coffee a year, working at three-quarters capacity, Incasa's product is exported, first of all to the United States, where it becomes the premium ingredient in 153 brands of instant coffee. Secondly, it goes to Europe, especially Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Great Britian, and to Japan, Argentina and Chile. Finally, the urban Guatemalan, if he can afford it, may buy pure Incasa at one of the new supermarkets

now found in the better residential neighborhoods.

The latest step in Incasa's march toward sophistication was its recent decision to start a table condiment canning and bottling plant, and thus diversify itself into a general processed foods manufacturer, a long psychological step indeed from the not-so-long-ago days when 65 growers were looking for a way to sell more coffee.

Every month in Guatemala, one or more new plants open their doors. TIPIC put in operation early this month a cold rolling department to turn out shaped sheet steel for lowcost housing purposes. The plant expects to start producing galvanized tubing with new Yoder equipment in July. This will mean an estimated saving for the country of some \$1.5 million in foreign exchange. Also in July, the Noel buiscuit factory, with 80 per cent Guatemalan capital, begins production of crackers and cookies that have been imported up to now, for a foreign exchange saving of some \$250,000. CETEG, a nylon hosiery factory, expects to get into production around mid-year. And so it goes. Guatemala's industrial production index at the end of 1960 stood at 196.7 (a base of 100 in 1946), almost a 100 per cent increase in 15 years.

A 40 per cent industrial growth over the past five years alone, and the gradual orientation of industrial production toward the needs of the urbanite, have affected the nature of the country's imports. This is a key factor in understanding the economy, and government actions affecting it. In order of decreasing importance, the 10 chief imports are: petroleum products, automobiles and trucks, electrical machinery and materials, iron and steel plate and structural materials. cotton textiles, medicinal and pharmacuetical products, wheat and flour, paper and paper products, fertilizers, fungicides and insecticides. Note that only the last three on the list are wholly concerned with agriculture, whereas the first four are almost entirely the result of growing urban commerce and industry. Further, textiles and pharmaceuticals are products that find their principal markets in the cities.

Why so few rural oriented imports? Because the masses of rural Guatemalans can afford to buy little else but necessities. Incomes of these people average \$182 per year. These incomes have gone up \$50 in five years, but they are still pitifully low. Guatemala's upper and growing middle classes are mostly urbanites. The cities' stores are packed with the latest automobiles, television sets, plastic dinnerware, Italian shoes, and U. S. canned goods. Rural visitors stare at them wonderingly and longingly, but they seldom buy. More and more urban Guate-

malans can-and do buy.

In line with Guatemala's plans for an industrial future, she is building in the suburbs of Guatemala City a technical training school to supply skilled workers. Designed to cope with the biggest complaint raised by industry—the lack of technical training among workers—the school, to be called Instituto Tecnico Vocacional, will offer courses in every kind of vocational training from bricklaying to mechanical drawing. But with the belief that skilled labor must have a broader





Docks at Puerto Barrios, operated by United Fruit Company.

Docks at Puerto Barrios, served by rail facilities, compete with Matias de Galvez, governmentowned port, served by trucks.

Huge government-built warehouses at Matias de Galvez port.



cultural level than the mere fact of a skill, the school also will offer courses in mathematics, psychology, sciences, labor relations, etc.

The \$2.3-million school, financially, is a joint project of the Guatemalan government, ICA, and private Guatemalan industry. The new school, to accommodate 1,000 students, will open its doors in January of next year, but some 440 students are already enrolled in classes held in temporary quarters. Government officials expect the school to go far toward meeting the skilled labor bottleneck and to make a healthy contribution both to industrial and social progress in the country.

In 1959 the Guatemalan government passed an Industrial Development Law to encourage the establishment of a diversified national industrial plant. In brief, the law provides for 10-year import duty exemptions on construction materials, machinery, industrial vehicles, raw materials, semirefined petroleum, and maintenance equipment brought into the country to start a new industry. It also grants five year total profits tax exemptions, plus a second five years at 50 per cent of the going rate. Existing industries wishing to expand can get a five year import exemption on construction materials, machinery, vehicles, maintainence equipment and accessories, plus amortization of prior losses and investment capital against profits taxes.

The law was specifically designed to hack away at the big ten import list. First item: 3,140,000 barrels of petroleum products, representing an annual \$8-million trade deficit with the Royal Dutch Shell refineries on Aruba and Curação. The new law made building a refinery in Guatemala, to supply gasoline to all Central America, so attractive that a U. S. firm, Breaux Bridge Refining Company, invested \$23 million to erect a plant near Puerto Barrios. Almost next door, the Delhi-Taylor Oil Company, also a U. S. outfit, plans to build a 10,000-barrel refinery.

Similar attacks have been made, or are planned, on others of the big ten. New plants for the manufacture of electrical fixtures and lights, automobile tires and parts, cardboard container and pressed board products, structural cement, pharmaceutical products, and others are now either in operation or nearing completion.

Most of this industrial growth has been financed by Guatemalan money, although the dollar value of foreign investment has been rapidly rising. In the past five years foreign enterprises have poured over \$15 million into the country, up 3,000 per cent

since the confused days of 1954.

But most of this money has been invested in a relatively few high-cost industries and in United Fruit Company operations. The weight of numbers and value of investment to the Guatemalan economy still is balanced heavily on the side of domestic capital. However, Guatemalan investment capital is limited. If the country is to continue to grow, foreign investment must increase.

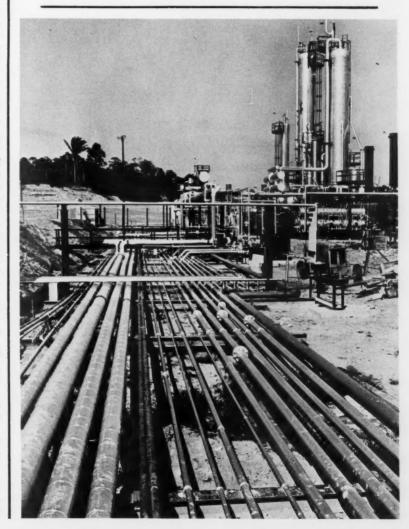
Some opportunities for investment include: mills for producing kiln-dried lumber (Guatemala doesn't have any, must import all its seasoned lumber for construction); glassware factories

(both the brewery and Incasa import thousands of bottles per month); a machine plant (fast custom service is needed for valves, machine parts and small-quantity production items).

The Central American common market will undoubtedly add to the number of investment possibilities. Guatemala already envisions herself as the industrial member nation of the economic coalition, although certain other Central American countries would dispute the claim. However, in the production of consumer goods, Guatemala seems likely to hold a leading position in the industrial progress of Central America.

# **Breaux Bridge Refining Corporation**

Matias de Galvez, Guatemala



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IN the two years before the U.S. Embassy in Cuba closed its doors last January, more than 40,000 Cubans had fled to the United States. Well over 30,000 others had registered with the Embassy their desire to come to the United States. Thousands of others couldn't fulfill the requirements of the U. S. immigration laws.

the followers, gunmen, officials or profiteers of the Batista dictatorship. The Batista-ites were shot or imprisoned or were able to escape Cuba during the first two months of the Castro regime. Except for a small proportion of fence-sitters, the people who have fled or wanted to flee Cuba since March 1959 were solidly behind he says. "I was wrong. Everything was politics. The regime sent speakers to the University. They were not experts in technology or science or art or literature. They were politicians who spoke about 'the ties with the Soviet Union' and 'the wrongs committed by the United States.' I was on the reception committee for these men.

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# Why They Flee Cuba

By JOSEPH P. BLANK

"If the U.S. and Cuba had a common border," said a U. S. Embassy official, shortly before the diplomatic break between the two nations, "and we simply opened the gates, I would estimate that Cuba would lose 20,000 people a week for many, many weeks."

As it was, some 1,300 Cubans were entering the United States each week. The great majority did not return to their homeland. To obtain visas they waited in lines of 400 to 1,000 men, women and children that began forming at 3 o'clock each morning outside the Embassy. In the hope of getting priority they made pleas to Embassy staff members who were dining in restaurants, sitting in movie houses and riding on buses. Applicants who failed to meet one or more of the 31 requirements in the visa law often beseeched re-consideration on humanitarian grounds. They wept. They got down on their knees.

"We were faced with these situations every day from 8:30 in the morning till 5:30 at night," said a consular officer. "There was little we could do. We were issuing visas on the basis of routine immigration regulations, which contain no provision for political refugees."

A week before the Embassy closed in January 1961, the backlog of visa appointments had reached such magnitude that the 33-person visa staff was scheduling interviews 14 months in advance.

Who are these people so eager to leave their native land? They are not Castro when he took power in January 1959. They come from every level of the country's social and economic life: enlisted men and officers who fought in the mountains with Castro, teachers, physicians, lawyers, accountants, engineers, labor leaders, factory workers, housewives, bookbinders, students, judges, government officials and clerks, commercial pilots, plumbers. None of them were hounded out of Cuba. They left voluntarily, abandoning everything they owned and everything they had known. Most of them took with them only their clothes and the \$5 permitted by the government. They left, knowing that their existence as refugees in the United States would be bleak and precarious.

Why did they leave?

In Havana, none of the persons applying for admission to the United States felt free to cite the reasons for their departure. But in Miami and other South Florida communities they revealed their experiences:

Pedro Oliver Labra, a thin, darkhaired man, accepted a cigarette and said, "Here, I do not have enough money for a pack of cigarettes." He smiled and added, "After I left, the Cuban newspapers accused me of being in the pay of your State Department. I just wish I would find a job.'

Until November 1960, Oliver was rector of the Central University of Las Villas with an enrollment of 2,400 students. Before taking this administrative post he was a professor of physics. "I accepted the post of rector because I understood it would be non-political."

Why? There exists in Cuba an atmosphere that is hard to describe. You know what you have to do to keep out of trouble. Nobody tells you. But you know you can't object to the speakers. You know you have to attend meetings where they speak because your absence will be noted. You know you're being observed. You know you're being controlled, because, for one thing, you can't change residence or job without permission.

hen came the case of Porfirio Ramirez, who was president of the student body at the University. Ramirez criticized the government's policies, then fled to the hills to fight them. The militia caught him. He was put on trial at 2 p.m. last October 12. I telephoned Havana and pleaded for Ramirez, and Jimenez assured me that the young man would not be shot. The court closed at 6:00 that evening. At 8:00 it announced its decision from behind locked doors: the firing squad for Ramirez. At 6:00 the following morning he was executed.

"Now I realized I was in politics. I was against the regime. I was against its executions, its controls, its everpresent militia, its arbitrary confiscation of property, its distrust of the people who helped it. I could not breathe freely. I had to get out.

"If I had a choice again, I would still leave. It's almost impossible to explain this, because words cannot do justice to the feeling that would make a man deliberately leave his family, his friends and his country."

For many Cubans the dream of a wonderful democratic government for their country ended as soon as Castro achieved power. In a rundown house near the Miami railroad tracks Pepita Riera said, "Oh, how we were taken in!" Miss Riera had been active in the anti-Batista underground. She is the author of 11 novels and was a writer for Cuban radio and television. During the revolution she was one of five women with Major Hubert Matos' column in the Sierra Maestra.

In the hills, Castro promised social justice," she said. "He told us he was anti-communist. He promised justice to everyone, and everybody helped him. Then, after he came to power in January 1959, we saw that his promise was a lie. The revelation began with the trial of the Batista pilots. If these men had broken the law or committed an inhuman act, they should have been punished. But they were convicted without proof. Then Castro began to confiscate land, factories, stores, residential properties. He took from those who owned property simply because they owned it, not because they had mistreated people or were crooked.

"For me, the end came when Castro sent two men to a phonograph-record factory owned by a relative of mine and ordered the production of two records within 24 hours. The records were communist songs from eastern Europe. I took the records to Castro. Looking me straight in the eye he said, yes, he had ordered them. He said the people were politically sterile and he wanted to get started with their indoctrination. When he said that, I knew I had to fight this regime that I had given everything of myself to help."

Many members of Castro's military legions are no longer with the regime. Some have been imprisoned, others purged. Some have fled because they could no longer live with the government.

"I fought with Castro," 29-year-old Manuel F. Artime said. "I was one of his lieutenants in the mountains. I can still remember him talking about social justice, about democracy, about his love for people. He told us that his heart was with freedom.

"After the victory Castro appointed me chief of agricultural reform for a large part of Oriente Province. Soon I found that it was not enough to work the land for the betterment of Cuba. We were expected to work the people toward an orientation with Russia and China. I opposed this. At meetings I called the communists in government anti-revolutionary and negative. For this, I was called a traitor. Raul Castro

and Che Guevara came through my area and accused me of undermining the revolution.

"Then, in October, 1959 I was called to Havana for a central meeting of the Institute for Agrarian reform. The main topic of the meeting concerned the complete nationalization of all property and all people. I felt like a man in another country. In a few weeks two military officers were assigned to 'help' me. Their true job was to watch me. Finally, an old friend of mine in government told me, 'You're headed for a lot of trouble. You cannot be against communism. If you want to stay with the government, you must accept.' I got out."

Dr. Rufo Lopez-Fresquet, a fervent opponent of Batista, a university professor and one of Cuba's outstanding economists, also believes that he was betrayed. Appointed by Castro, he was Minister of the Treasury from January, 1959 until his resignation on March 17, 1960. During that time his feelings about the Castro regime swung from enthusiastic confidence to utter despair.

"After Batista was overthrown," he said, "I hoped to see an honest and democratic government. To help realize that hope I accepted Castro's invitation to join the government. But Castro turned away from the democracy that he had promised. Newspapers were not permitted to publish freely. People were not allowed to meet or congregate freely. Men and women were taken to prison without due process of law. I became concerned over the growing power of communists in government, but Castro told me, 'Don't worry. I want to see who they are. I want them to stick out their necks. Then I'll get rid of them.'

T believed him. I believed that the suppression of liberties was a phase. Too late I saw the truth: that under Castro the communists were in for good, that the totalitarian state was the ultimate goal. By the time I and others in the government who felt as I did tried to exert influence in the direction of democracy, it was too late. We were powerless. I resigned on the grounds of ill health, slipped aboard a ship and hid in the lavatory with a .45 pointed at the door until we reached Florida."

Except for the hard core of extremists on both the Right and the Left, few Cubans expected the Castro regime to follow its current course. It is generally conceded that 95 out of 100 Cubans supported Castro when he marched in triumph into Havana.

Today bitterness and disillusionment are on the lips of people in every sector

of Cuban life. A labor leader, Mario Fontela Alfonso, one of more 50 in south Florida, told me: "I was elected general secretary of the agricultural workers on February 21, 1959. Within six months I saw that I was expected to do more than work for the benefit of the union members and the country. I was expected to believe, without criticism, in Castroism. I was expected to knuckle under as the communists took over more and more unions. I fought this kind of government control. Finally, a communist delegation ousted me from the union by arranging a closed meeting of 24 delegates who sided with them. This was 24 out of a total of 380 union delegates. The next day the government papers announced that I had been removed by a vote of all union delegates."

A factory worker, 19 years old: "Castro got farther and farther away from the aims of the revolution. We were promised more liberty and got less. We were promised a better standard of living, and got worse. Food became more expensive. I had less money. In January, 1959, I took home \$5.20 a day and worked 22 days that month. In September, 1960, I took home \$5.50 a day—but I worked only five days that month. With a wife and a baby to take care of, I had a hard time."

A 67-year-old retired worker: "I worked all my life and saved my money. I built two little houses and rented them so that I could have an income when I was too old to work. I rented one for \$22 a month and the other for \$18. My wife and I lived in a little apartment that cost us \$12 a month. In the urban reform program my two houses were taken away from me."

A newspaper editor, Jorge Zayas of El Avance: "I helped the revolution by forging documents and hiding arms in our plant. We were the only Havana newspaper to send a correspondent to the hills with Castro. After he came into power, I criticized the regime's mistakes and policies and corrected misstatements in Castro's speeches. The government called me a traitor. The militia marched in and took over my paper and I took asylum in the Ecuadorean Embassy before flying here." Zayas now is publishing El Avance in Miami.

An attorney, Santiago Fernandez-Pichs: "I was a member of the executive committee of the Cuban Bar Association. I was elected to the committee as a pro-Castroite in 1958. At the trial of the Batista pilots in early 1959 I saw that things would not turn out as we had hoped. The

revolutionary court acquitted the pilots for lack of evidence. Castro ordered them re-tried. This order contradicted the constitution which says that a person cannot be tried twice for the same offense. The pilots were declared guilty and sentenced to two to 30 years at hard labor. Any constitutional guarantee that ran contrary to the government's wishes was unimportant. People were accused, tried and convicted on the basis of emotions. The criminal code, which gives the accused the protection of the law, was ignored. Law became meaningless."

A professor of medicine at the University of Havana: "The underground at the university hospital provided Castro with money and guns. We propagandized his cause. But Castro's victory was no victory for us. The regime reopened the University as a kind of government educational agency. I did not agree with this concept and

resigned.

"That labeled me a counter-revolutionary. I found myself being followed. So I came to the United States. I've been a doctor for 31 years, and now I work as a scrub nurse in an operating room, passing instruments to doctors. But I am grateful to be still a part of medicine." (The hospital's director of personnel told me that this physician had an international reputation in his specialty.)

Yet this doctor is among the more fortunate of his refugee colleagues. About 350 Cuban physicians are now in the Miami area. State laws and the rigid requirements for obtaining a license prevent them from practicing medicine. Some 20 of them are emploved by hospitals as operating-room or laboratory technicians. Others are working as store clerks, factory hands, parking attendants, waiters. The great majority are unable to find work of any kind. Through the University of Miami, authorities are preparing qualifying examinations for Cuban doctors to enable them to serve as residents in hospitals.

The shortage of jobs in south Florida is the most immediate and serious problem faced by the Cuban refugees. The moment they land in the United States they begin looking for work. They are proud: proud enough to be humiliated by chairty, proud enough to take any kind of work. While jobhunting they depend on friends, relatives and colleagues who preceded them to Florida. One man earning \$50 a week can provide low-cost food for 15 people. Attorney Santiago

Fernandez-Pichs is an usher in a movie theater. Other attorneys are cleaning fruits and vegetables in restaurant kitchens. Teachers, engineers and businessmen are working as room-service waiters in Miami Beach hotels.

Church and welfare agencies, as well as some business corporations, have helped the refugees with money, food and clothing. Last December, former President Eisenhower allocated one million dollars to refugee assistance. Much of that money was spent relocating men and women in areas where jobs are available. Soon after taking office, President Kennedy ordered a \$4 million program of federal assistance

While the refugees are grateful for any kindness shown them, their basic need is one that cannot be fulfilled in the United States. What they want is to go back to Cuba. They want to regain what was taken from them: savings, careers, personal liberty-and their hopes and dreams for a new, democratic Cuba.

"The dictatorship will be overthrown," Lopez-Fresquet asserts. "We will return home. No amount of guns or soldiers or prison cells can stifle the Cubans' love of liberty." •

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